

## **A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF CODE SWITCHING IN THE SPEECH OF AN INDONESIAN ENGLISH BILINGUAL**

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### **Abstract**

This preliminary study of the speech of a bilingual shows that code switching is relatively spontaneous and follows the conventions of both languages. Code switching in this subject is generally triggered by an bilingual interlocutor whom the subject knows well. Many of the instances of code switching can be categorized according Gumperz's discourse functions. However, it was found that the grammar of the code switches is not consistent and it cannot be predicted when code switching will occur.

**Keywords:** bilingual, code-switching, bilingual interlocutor  
discourse function

### **INTRODUCTION**

Bilingualism is not something extraordinary in Indonesia. In fact, it is rather unusual to come across a person who is completely monolingual. Most Indonesian people speak more than one language: the Indonesian language and their mother tongue, which can be Javanese, Sundanese or any one of the more than 250 dialects spoken around Indonesia. Those who have gone through high school and university will have some knowledge of English. Indeed bilingualism has become a worldwide phenomenon that is spreading throughout the world greatly expedited by the rapid development of the media and information technology (Crystal, 1997). One of the languages that has been spreading at an unprecedented rate on the wings of IT is English.

We can witness this phenomenon here in Indonesia. When watching a local talk show on one of the Indonesian television channels, we will notice that more and more words, phrases and even whole sentences in English are woven into the speech of the anchor or host as well as the guests on the show. This is an interesting phenomenon which has not yet received much attention from linguists. What is it that makes people mix languages?

Is it an indication of inadequate fluency in one or even both languages? Is it triggered by the interlocutor or the particular topic that is being discussed? Is it practiced to give the speaker a certain status? Or is it just a random decision made by the speaker who happens to know English?

This paper is a preliminary research into the speech behaviour of a young bilingual adult who speaks Indonesian as her mother tongue and English as a second or foreign language, to find some answers to the questions posed above. Although she cannot be said to represent the average young Indonesian adult, there are quite a few people within that particular circle, young, educated, and with a good career ahead of them that seem to share the same bilingual pattern in their speech acts.

## **METHOD**

The corpus of the research consisted of transcripts of recorded interaction between the subject and her peers or superiors in various situations: work, social and domestic, during one working day. This study, however, only analyzes the code switching of the subject investigated. Nevertheless, the speech of her interlocutors was also taken into account to determine the contextual situation of the speech act.

After transcribing recordings, I highlighted the English words, phrases and sentences. The next stage was identifying the types of code switching that occurred and determining the reasons for code switching. I also carried out an interview with the subject to find more about her bilingual background, her attitude toward code-switching and her experience with code-switching. Finally, I drew some conclusions concerning the social meaning of code switching.

The first part of the paper will briefly define what is meant by bilingualism and look at one of its most common features, code-switching. This will be followed by a very brief survey of the research that has been carried out in this area.

## **FEATURES OF BILINGUAL SPEECH**

One of the prominent features of bilingual speech is the mixing of two languages, or the switch from one language to another by a bilingual person. Early studies of speakers who were mixing two languages that were done in the 1950s by linguists like Haugen and Weinreich tended to categorize all instances of switching from one language to another as a kind of interference of one language on another and thus definitions of the phenomena tended to be viewed in a rather negative way (Hamers &

Blanch, 2000). Since the 1970s, however, with the appearance of Blom and Gumperz's paper, 'Social meaning in linguistic structures: code switching in Norway', it has been widely accepted that these phenomena occur whenever two or more speakers who are bilingual in the same languages communicate with one another. Blom and Gumperz identified two categories of code-switching: firstly, situational code-switching which occurs when there is a change of topic or situation, and secondly conversational code-switching where there is no such change (Hoffmann, 1991). The definition that I will be using in this paper is Gumperz's definition (1982 cited in Hamers, 2000, p. 258) which states that code switching is 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems.' Due to the limited scope of the paper, I will not consider 'borrowings' or 'code mixing' which are often considered to be on the same continuum as code-switching.

Poplack (1980, cited in Hamers, 2000, p. 259) identifies three types of code-switching in terms of what part of a speech act is switched to another language:

1. extra-sentential code-switching which involves the insertion of a tag, e.g. 'you know', 'I mean', from one language into a clause or sentence in a different language;
2. intersentential code-switching which involves a switch at clause/sentence boundary. In this case one clause is in one language and the other in another language. An example of this is: 'I don't really like Indian food, *tapi kalau mau coba, ayo.*' [*I don't really like Indian food, but if you want to try, let's try it.*']
3. intrasentential code-switching which involves switches of different types occurring within the clause boundary, including within the word boundary. For example: *diopen.* [*'opened'*]

In terms of grammar, Poplack (1980 in Hamers, 2000, p. 261) has identified two constraints that control the grammar of code-switching:

1. the free morpheme constraint which predicts that a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has experienced phonological integration into the language of the bound morpheme. For example, '*run-eando*' is a Spanish-English code-switch that has not been phonologically adapted into Spanish.
2. The equivalence constraint predicts that the order of sentence constituents immediately following or proceeding the switch must be grammatical with respect to both languages simultaneously.

Code switching can also be categorized according to the reasons people do it. Many situational variables seem to affect the type and frequency of code switching. These include the topic of conversation, the participants, the setting, the affective aspect of the message and so on (Hamers, 2000). The context in which code-switching takes place is essential to determine the type of code and the speaker's relations to it.

Code-switching can also be used as a communicative strategy and often a marker of identity. Gumpres identifies six discourse functions which code switching can be used to as (in Romaine, 1998, p. 162):

1. a distinction between direct and reported speech, or quotations. The speech of another speaker that is being reported in a conversation is expressed in a different language.
2. injections which function as sentence fillers.
3. clarification or emphasis of a message. This is often found in the form of a repetition of the same meaning but in a different language.
4. a means of qualifying the message. In this case the code switch marks a new topic that is introduced in one language and then commented on or further qualified in the other.
5. a specification of an addressee as the recipient of the message. The function of the switch to another language is to draw attention to the fact that the addressee is being invited to participate in an exchange.
6. a way to mark the distinction between personalization vs. objectivization.

Another category is code-switching that results from a speaker's lack of competence in L2 or the absence of a word in L1 to express a certain idea.

Much of the research conducted on code-switching in bilingualism over the years has studied the language of immigrants or descendants of immigrants (Romaine, 1995), such as the language of Punjabis in Britain, Greeks in England, Mexican-American children, but very little has been done in communities where the switch is to a foreign language that people have learned at school and are frequently exposed to in the media, newspapers, magazines, cinema, TV, etc. In other words, very little has been mentioned about bilingualism in an EFL (English as a Foreign Language) context. Research that has been done in this area generally considers the phenomena of switching as a kind of 'interlanguage', a language that a FL

learner uses before he/she reaches a certain level of proficiency. This might be due to the fact that the aim of teaching EFL is to get people to become fluent in the foreign language being learned and to be able to separate it completely from their mother tongue. Switching from one language to another in an EFL learners' context is considered as an interference.

## THE STUDY

The subject of this study was a young woman of twenty five. Her first language is Indonesian, which is the language that she converses in most of the time. Her parents are bilingual but usually converse in Indonesian with each other and the family. With an almost perfect TOEFL score of 677, her English can be considered advanced. She received most of her education in the regular Indonesian education system: elementary school, junior high school, senior high school and university. However, she spent 20 months in English speaking countries during which she went to regular public schools: 10 months in South-west England when she was 12 and another 10 months in California, USA when she was 16. She graduated from the Faculty of Social Science of one of the leading universities in Jakarta, majoring in Mass Communication. While she was studying at university she did an apprenticeship at a teenage magazine and wrote articles about teen lifestyle for *The Jakarta Post* as a free lance reporter. She now works for an international woman's magazine as a beauty editor. Her job is to organize the beauty features of the magazines, write article and design photographs on beauty products, hair and make-up. In her job she works with other young women and men with educational backgrounds similar to hers.

For the collection of data, she agreed to carry a small tape recorder around with her to record conversations with her colleagues and friends during a working day. The exchanges involved work related conversations as well as casual conversations among friends. The result was a recording of approximately three hours from which a transcription was made of the speech acts. The switches into English were highlighted and then categorized and matched with the theory mentioned above to see whether they conformed to the theory or not. Finally, an interview was conducted to clarify some things that were not clear in the recording, to gain more background information, to confirm some findings of the study and to find the subject's attitude towards code-switching.

## THE GRAMMAR OF CODE-SWITCHING

The transcripts of the recordings show that the subject's dominant language when conversing with her peers and superiors is Indonesian with frequent code-switches to English which add up to about 23% percent of the total number of words recorded in the transcript. Approximately 35% of the English is in the form of single words such as *contact*, *provide*, *clubbing*, *scarf*, *fine*, *feature*, *alarm*, and *token*. The rest of the code-switches to English, or 65 % is in the form of sentences, clauses or phrases. The following are some examples of switches in the form of sentences, clauses, and phrases found in the subject's speech.

### Sentences:

*Liburan kemana? I wanna go to Bali.*  
*I told you that already? Keterlalu*  
*Seneng lagi. I think she's the best model.. make up... the best clothes*

Oh this is so beautiful!

*Tell me the difference and then maybe we can try and do something.*  
*Oh, oh we took the wrong way; we should've gone through....south*  
 Embedded clauses:

*Soalnya if you go partying in clubs kan kesannya sampai jam empat gitu lu balik ke hotel*

*[The problem is the impression they have of you when you return to the hotel if you go partying in clubs until 4 o'clock].*

*Just shake this and you press terus keluarnya mousse*  
*[Just shake this and you press then the mousse will come out]*  
*Kenapa sih emang, is your heart not in it or are you just waiting for the right time?*  
*[What is the problem, is your heart not it or are you just waiting for the right time?]*

*Besok aja when we have money.*  
*[Let's do it tomorrow when we have money].*

### Phrases:

*Unless elo cuma punya label ready to wear*  
*[Unless you only have ready to ready to wear labels].*  
*dua sih gitu teeny weenie*  
*[There are two teeny weenie (beds)]*

*Waktu itu dong gue dimarahin Mbak Dani\* Oh my God Mbak Dani.*  
[At that time I was scolded by Ms Dani. Oh my God, Ms Dani]

*I mean kalau motret elo kerjasama.*  
[I mean when you take photographs you cooperate].

*Padahal kalau dia muji pasti ada negative comments somewhere.*  
[However if she praises [anything] there are always negative comments somewhere].

*foto gue yang warna warni itu yang si bule Russian Girl*  
[my colourful photograph, the one with the white Russian Girl]

*Ini juga jalan kok. Mesti thinking positive.*  
[This also works. You should think positive].  
*Tapi kalau sudah out of season baru dibagi-bagi undian.*  
[But they only give them away in a lottery when they are out of season]

From the examples of the switches above, it is apparent that the subject uses all three types of code-switching identified by Poplack mentioned above: extra-sentential code switching or the insertion of a tag, intersentential code-switching and intrasentential code-switching. It is interesting to note that all three types of code-switching can occur in one speech act as in the following example. In this context, she is talking to a photographer she is working with whose speech also has features of bilingual speech. She is asking him about places he visited that impressed him most.

- (1) *I mean, from all the places you've visited... not apa ya ... I mean bukan cuma scenerynya aja tapi ya..experience lu.*  
[I mean, from all the places you've visited... not.. what shall I say... I mean not only the scenery but your experience].

In terms of grammar, the switches that occurred are still within Poplack's constraints. In the recordings, no violations of those constraints were detected. This is probably because Indonesian and English have the same basic structure SVO and the switches made were always constituents.

There are several instances of the free morpheme constraint: *ngedrop*, *mengedit* and *diokeyin*. These examples, however, could be considered to be borrowings as these expressions are very often used by

people who are not bilingual. However, the subject tended to stick to the English phonology when pronouncing the words as in the pronunciation of [r] in 'drop' and a slightly aspirated [k<sup>H</sup>]. Another interesting example which deviates from that pattern is

- (2) *Mereka pikir kalau Cosmo itu semuanya translatan termasuk fashion.*  
[*They think that in Cosmo all the articles including the fashion are translations*].

The speaker uses the English word 'translate', but instead of using the noun 'translation' she adds the Indonesian suffix 'an' which turns a verb into a noun producing the word 'translate'.

An analysis of the single word switches in the transcript show that many English words are followed by the Indonesian suffix 'nya' as in the following examples:

- (3) *Semua backgroundnya berbeda*  
[*The background is all different*].  
(4) *Bukan cuma scenerynya*  
[*Not only the scenery*]  
(5) *Kalo di beauty, framenya terbatas.*  
[*In beauty the frames are limited*]  
(6) *Gue ngejar pantainya bukan partynya.*  
[*I'm after the beach not the party*].

The subject uses the Indonesian suffix 'nya' in examples (3) to (6) to give emphasis to a word or as an equivalent of a definite article (Kentjono, et al, 2004).

However, there are instances in which the subject does make use of English articles 'the' or 'a' in front of English words as in the following examples:

- (7) *pake a bustier kayanya*  
[*it seemed like [she was wearing] a bustier*].  
(8) *The fashion spread lo dikirim engga?*  
[*Was the fashion spread, yours, sent?*]

Another example in this category is the application of the Indonesian plural form, which is a reduplication of a noun, on an English noun. e.g.,

- (9) *Yang tinggal disitu cuma surfer-surfer.*  
[*Only surfers stay there*].



- (10) *Banyak club-clubnya.*  
[*Many clubs*].

However, this is not used consistently as there were several examples in which the English word was put in the plural form following the English syntax such as in '*frames*'

- (11) *Ada dua puluh empat frames seluruhnya.*  
[*There were 24 frames in all*].  
(12) *Pasti ada negative comments...*  
[*There are always negative comments...* ]

In addition, there are interesting examples of switching that occur within a phrase:

- (13) *Tingkat level stressnya tinggi ya?*  
[*The stress level is high, isn't it?*]

In this example instead of the English word order 'stress level' the phrase follows the Indonesian word order (Noun-Modifier). A similar example is

- (14) *Ini juga jalan kok. Mesti thinking positive.*  
[*This also works. Use positive thinking*].

Instead of the English word order '*positive thinking*', the word order is switched to the Indonesian order Noun-Modifier. However, she does not do this consistently. There is an interesting example where the subject uses the Indonesian word order for English words and the English word order in the same utterance.

- (15) *Soalnya Kalo beauty framenya kan terbatas. Frame beauty kan kalao misalnya kerja di Marie Claire atau Glamour kan beda*  
[*The problem is the beauty frames are limited. Beauty frames, for example when you work in Marie Claire or Glamour, are different*].

This switch in word order is not an example of a slip of the tongue or an error made by a EFL learner but rather an example of code-switching as it seems to be deliberate. This is supported by the fact that when the subject is speaking English, she does not make that kind of error.

Apart from the above, there are examples of switches that do not quite fit the categories discussed above. One of them involves a switch with a change in the word category or part of speech. One example is the use of the word 'okay' as a verb. The word is repeated following the convention in Indonesian to give it emphasis and given the prefix '*di*' and suffix '*in*', the

informal form of the suffix ‘*di.....kan*’ which puts a verb in the passive voice.

- (16) *Soalnya US itu kayaknya kalo liat model bule diokay-okayin aja.*

*[The problem is that Americans seem to approve anything as long as they see white models]*

Another example of reduplication is

- (17) *Mereka gak bilang apa-apa... fine-fine aja.*

*[The didn't say anything..Everything was fine]*

The reduplication in (17) is used to give emphasis as in the common Indonesian ‘*semuanya baik-baik aja*’ (things are okay).

In the next example, an English word that is already a gerund is given an additional Indonesian suffix ‘*an*’ to form a noun and the ‘*nya*’ suffix functioning as a definite article.

- (18) *Croppingannya dari sana sih.*

*[The problem is that they did the cropping]*

*The subject was discussing the cropping of a photograph she had designed*

Another use of a gerund in an Indonesian structure is:

- (19) *Kalau mereka... biasanya dimeetingin semuanya. Meeting artikel terus konsep untuk ilustrasinya dibikin semua rame-rame.*

*[In their case ... everything is usually discussed in a meeting. An article meeting and the concept for the illustration is all done together]*

Instead of using the Indonesian word for meeting ‘*rapat*’, she switched to ‘*meeting*’ using it as a verb by adding the non-standard Indonesian suffix ‘*di .... In*’ to form a passive verb.

The following example is a case in which there is a switch to English expressions with the structure following the Indonesian grammar.

- (20) *Mendingan beliin tempat tidur single yang gede yang spring bed queen.*

*[It would have been better to buy a big single bed, a queen spring bed]*

This example could probably be due to the fact that the terms ‘single’, ‘queen’, and ‘spring bed’ are commonly used words in the context of furniture and the subject applies the words in a sentence using the Indonesian word order.

Having analyzed the grammar of the different kinds of code-switches that appeared in the subject’s speech, I shall turn to the reasons that triggered those switches.

## THE MEANING OF CODE-SWITCHING

The switches found in the corpus were categorized using Grumperz’s six categories. Several examples of the first discourse function of switches which distinguish between direct and indirect speech, were found:

- (21) *Gue nanya dong tell me the difference and then maybe we can try and do something kan... benerin kan.*  
[naturally I asked tell me the difference and then maybe we can try and do something to improve it]
- (22) *Dibenerin dulu kali... daripada.. you know.. don’t give them a chance to criticize you gitu.. if you can do it better coba dong gitu aku bilang.*  
[Correct it first perhaps ... instead of ... you know.. don’t give them a chance to criticize you. If you can do it better you should try I said]

In both (21) and (22) the subject was telling her colleagues what she told her superior in reply to her criticisms of some fashion spreads that she (the subject) had made. Thus, the switch to English was to mark indirect speech. It is interesting to note, however, that in the interview I found out that the subject had not actually spoken the sentences in English. It can be concluded that the subject used English here to stress the point she wanted to make.

The second discourse function of code switches that was found in the corpus was to mark injections or to serve as sentence fillers. Below are a few examples of these:

- (23) *Kalo lu bisa liat ada bedanya... apa bedanya begitu...I mean dia kan udah koordinator desainer grafis mestinya dia ngerti dong yang gitu-gitu.*  
[if you can see the difference ... what the difference really is...I mean she is the graphic designer coordinator after all so she should understand such stuff]

- (24) *I mean... bukan cuma scenerynya aja tapi ya experience lo*  
[*I mean not only the scenery but also your experience*]

Examples were found of the third discourse function of code switches to clarify or emphasize a message by repeating what has just been said in the other language.

- (25) *Kepalanya dua two headed monster.*  
[*She has two heads... two headed monster*]
- (26) *It's pathetic. Kasian deh!*  
[*It's pathetic. I pity him*]
- (27) *Ronal semua atas bawa rasanya over the top terlalu dandan.*  
[*I think Ronal['s designs] are all over the top, too fancy*]

In the above examples, the function of the repetition of meaning in the two languages serves to emphasize the message.

The fourth discourse function of code switches is to qualify the message as in the following examples:

- (28) *Tia's another version of Citra, tapi yang lebih moderen. Lebih girly. Atau lebih tomboy. Yang masih down to earth.*  
[*Tia's another version of Citra, but more modern. More girly. Or more of a tomboy. She is still down to earth*].

The subject and her interlocutor were talking about their experience of working with different models. A new fashion model is introduced in (28) in English and elaborated on in Indonesian.

There are no examples of the fifth type of discourse function, i.e., to specify an addressee as the recipient of the message. However, a few were found for the last category, i.e., code switching to mark personalization vs. objectivization. The following speech acts are a few examples of this:

- (29) *Anjir hebat banget. Wow. Itu berkesan banget sama lu yang merasa... karena lu yang merasa you've achieved something*  
[*Wow that's really great. It must have impressed you a lot... because you felt you've achieved something*]

- (30) *Hebat...Sayang banget sih lu ngak terus jadi designer. Kenapa sih emang... is your heart not in it or are you just waiting for the right time?*  
[*Fantasti ... It's such a pity you didn't become a designer. What happened.. is your heart not in it or are you just waiting for the right time?*]

In these two examples she is talking to a senior photographer, who she is working with. In (29) she is praising him and can't come upon the appropriate words to say in Indonesian. She ends up expressing herself in English by saying '*you've achieved something*', thus making it more objective. In (30) she is asking him a personal question which does not seem quite appropriate to ask an older and more experienced person, particularly in a work environment. By posing the question in English, the subject felt that it became less personal and more objective.

Another function that was not covered in the category used above is the affective function of the switches found in the data.

- (31) *Hmmm...this is nice!*  
(32) *That is pathetic!*  
(33) *Yes dearie...*

In (31) she switches to English to express her appreciation of a pair of shoes she was looking at. In (32) the switch is made to express her annoyance at something a male colleague did which was being discussed in Indonesian. However, in (33) she uses it to express her affection for her friend, even though the latter had asked her a question in Indonesian.

It is interesting to note that there are also more instances of interjections such as 'wow', 'oh oh', 'oh no,' 'damn' compared to Indonesian interjections such as 'lah', 'dong' and these were even used in an utterance of only English words as in (9) above and the following

- (34) *Oh sepuluh dikirim keluar. Wow!*  
[*Oh ten were sent abroad. Wow!*]

- (35) *Oh no. Udah keterlaluhan banget!*  
[*Oh no. That is much too much!*]

On the other hand, there was an utterance in which a statement in English was followed by an Indonesian interjection:

- (36) *That's sexual harassment, lah! It's been like that for how many years ya?*

In the case of the switches to single words of English, it was apparent that in many instances the English words the subject used are those that people in her professional world would most likely use whether or not they are bilingual as they have become part of the jargon of that field, and could be considered as borrowings. However, her pronunciation of most of the words followed the English phonology, unlike her interlocutors who tended to use the Indonesian phonology. For example, when pronouncing the [t] in 'tank top', the subject slightly aspirated it [t<sup>h</sup>]. The first group of words are those that can be categorized as fashion jargon. This jargon includes words such as *designer, model, beauty, bustier, ready-to-wear, scarf, tank top, glamour, stylish, out of season, detailed craftsmanship, embossed leather*, most of which are nouns. Another group of words she often used are related to photography: *frame, shots, lighting, crop, cropping, slides, background, angle*, etc. These words were switched following the category of the word in the Indonesian sentence. For example,

- (37) *yang tank top di atas*  
[the tank tops were on top]
- (38) *yang kadang dengan embossed leather*  
[sometimes with embossed leather]
- (39) *pake a bustier kayanya*  
[it seemed like [she was wearing] a bustier]
- (40) *The fashion spread lo dikirim engga*  
[Was the fashion spread, yours, sent?]
- (41) *Ada dua puluh empat frames seluruhnya.*  
[There were 24 frames in all]

## DISCUSSION

In the data and the interview with the subject it was found that the code-switching practice of the subject conformed with the speech accommodation theory (Hamers, 2000), in which speakers tend to adapt their speech to that of their interlocutors. The data showed that the subject tended to use code-switching if her interlocutor did the same, although the data showed that in many cases the subject code switched more often. If her interlocutor, on the other hand, reverted to less code switching she would follow suit. However, this usually occurred when she was talking to her peers.

It was also difficult to identify a pattern in the switch from one language to another. The only identifiable reason for the switch was when she was talking about more technical matters related to fashion and

photography for which there are common English words that are generally used by people working in that field.

From the interview, it was apparent that when speaking to her superiors about work related matters, the subject tended to use standard Indonesian and perhaps switched to English if they initiated the move. Less code-switching occurs in this kind of relationship particularly in more formal dialogues.

When asked about her attitude to code-switching, she responded that she had a very positive attitude toward it. This was because it gave her many alternative ways of expressing her ideas and opinions. Code-switching enabled her to give a 'certain colour' to her message that she could not have achieved if she were only using Indonesian. However, she made it clear that she didn't like people who she did not know to use code-switching when addressing her. On one occasion, the subject was observed when she incidentally met with another young woman who greeted her in English and started conversing mostly in English. The subject responded to her in Indonesian and only after some time, when she felt more at ease talking to the woman, did she start to switch code. It turned out that she did not know this woman (an English teacher) well.

When questioned about this, she felt that when using code-switching it is important to know whether your interlocutor is bilingual or not. This is because she thinks that if you switch-code a lot when speaking to a person who is not bilingual, this might make him/her feel insecure as he/she might not be able to understand. The subject also thought that people might consider her arrogant if she does this. She related an experience she had with another woman who has a similar profession as hers but was working for another fashion magazine. When talking to the subject, the woman went directly into the code switching mode, even though this was the first time she had met the subject. In response, the subject did not converge to her language but deliberately kept to Indonesian. She felt that her interlocutor was trying to show her power or superiority by code-switching into English. The subject resisted this by using Indonesian.

The subject said that she would rarely code switch with people she did not know well or people that she knew did not understand English. For example, she rarely code-switches when talking to her brother's girl friend who doesn't speak any English. She does this because she does not want to make people feel uncomfortable or threatened. This was also apparent in the data which showed that she did not switch code to English when speaking to an interlocutor who was not bilingual.

It is interesting to note that she admitted that she did not code-switch very much when she was with her boy friend, who in fact could speak English better than the average Indonesian as he spent two years of his

elementary schooling in Hawaii and had a good educational background. Nevertheless, she did use terms of endearment '*dear*', '*dearie*' and ended her conversations on the phone with him by saying '*I love you.*' When questioned about this, she admitted that in this, relationship she felt more comfortable using her mother tongue. On the other hand, she felt that her use of terms of endearment was perhaps influenced by the many terms of endearment she is exposed to in programs on English films on TV and the movies. In addition, she believed it is not an Indonesian practice to express affection or express love for another person in words. On the contrary, she remarked that when she was angry at him, she tended to code-switch to English much more. This is probably related to Gumprez's sixth category of personalization vs objectivization.

When asked if she felt that code switching would jeopardize the Indonesian language, she claimed that it would not. She said she knew Indonesian well and could speak it without code-switching when necessary. In her work she has to write articles in standard Indonesian and her habit of code-switching does not affect the quality of her writing. In fact, she felt annoyed at the use of English words by reporters in Indonesian magazines or newspapers when they could have used an Indonesian word that would fit the context better, not to mention the times they misused English words. She said she felt very fortunate to be a bilingual because she felt she had a richer variety of alternatives to choose from to communicate her thoughts, her feelings, her emotions, ideas and opinions.

When shown the transcriptions of her bilingual speech, she was surprised to see how she used the language as the switches were generally spontaneous and she never deliberately thought about the grammar.

## CONCLUSION

Although this study is just a preliminary study of a limited amount of data collected and has hardly touched on the phonological aspect of code switching, it has uncovered many interesting facts about the speech of a bilingual who speaks Indonesian as a mother tongue and has acquired English through direct contact and a brief period of schooling in English speaking countries.

Code switching from Indonesian to English in the subject's speech seems to be relatively spontaneous as both English and Indonesian follow the same SVO pattern. We have seen, however, that the grammar of the code switches does not follow a fixed pattern; at times the grammar follows the English pattern whereas at other times it conforms to the Indonesian



grammar. The cause of this phenomenon is a misuse that needs further investigation.

It is also apparent that code switching usually occurs when the subject is conversing with another bilingual who is of equal status. How much code-switching occurs also seems to be determined by the interlocutor. When it occurs, we have seen that the pragmatic reasons for code-switching practiced by the subject generally follow the categories identified by linguists such as Poplack and Grumpe. Nevertheless, there are still many other instances of code-switching that do not seem to come under those categories. Another matter of interest is that when talking to her colleagues, the subject tends to use non-standard conversational Indonesian. However, the English embedded in those non-standard Indonesian sentences tends to be standard. This is an issue which could be taken up as a topic for further research.

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